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ABSTRACT

The worldwide phenomenon of rising national and ethnic interest has manifested itself in the demand for bilingual education in North America and in the struggles over language usage, bilingualism, and the sense of nationhood in developing countries. In this context, some attempts at national solutions of the problem are discussed and the practicalities and dilemmas of bilingual education are outlined. Bilingual education issues in western societies are examined against the background of the social and political issues related to language usage in developing countries. Underlying the bilingual education question are issues that involve ethnicity, social class, and poverty, and the principles regulating life and opportunity in western societies. Some of the questions examined are: (1) the fact that non-English speaking groups in both England and America are generally poor; (2) the difficulty of establishing objectives and the shortage of revenues; and (3) the magnitude of the social problem. Attempts made in Toronto, New York, San Diago, and Salt Lake City to deal with bilingual education programs are examined. It is pointed out, in conclusion, that the purpose of the paper was to lay bare the issues and dilemmas and to show that what looks like a language issue is actually one aspect of deep-seated cultural and social problems. (AMH)

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Bilingual Education Monographs, No. 1.

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foreword

This is the first of two monographs on bilingualism to be produced from the Bicentennial Seminar on Urban Education which was held in the United States October 10-30, 1976.

The Seminar was developed under the aegis of the international Institute for the Management Training of Educational Change (IMTEC), which is based in Oslo, Norway.

Over 100 educators from Europe, The United Kingdom, Canada and the United States participated in this unusual study. Scholarly papers explored several of the major themes and dilemmas that dominate education in many urban centers in the United States. Case studies explored in depth problems in education that exist in New York City, Dallas, San Diego and Salt Lake City and Davis County, Utah. These same locations provided field sites for visits by teams of participants in the Seminar.

One such participant was Profesor Gerald Bernbaum of the faculty of the School of Education, University of Leicester, England. Professor Bernbaum has done a masterful job of winnowing volumes of data on bilingualism, which came out of the Seminar, and in presenting the material in a lucid form. His frame of reference is a sociological one.

Financial support for this and the forthcoming second monograph was provided by the National Assessment and Dissemination Center, which is located at Lesley College, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

We owe a special thanks to the National Assessment and Dissemination Center and its Director, John R. Correiro; to IMTEC and its Director, Dr. Per Dalin; and, finally, to Professor Gerald Bernbaum for their combined efforts in bringing this monograph into being.

Don A. Orton
President, Lesley College
Cambridge, Massachusetts
June 16, 1978

introduction

The purpose of these papers is to provide a review of the main features of the contemporary debate about bilingualism and education. Though the papers inevitably rely upon much of the published material of those working in the increasingly significant field of bilingualism they offer distinctive perspectives in three separate ways. Firstly, the papers discuss the theme of bilingualism within a sociological framework and in so doing, hopefully, provide a broader vision than many existing parts of the literature. The sociological framework enables consideration to be given to the origins of the teaching of bilingualism as well as to some of its consequences and unintended consequences. It encourages a more complex and sensitive rendering of the factors associated with the success or failure of bilingual programs and enables coherent distinctions to be made between the different types of courses.

Secondly, these two papers draw upon evidence made available to the *Bicentennial Seminar on Urban Education;* most especially it has been possible to incorporate in the discussion the substance of papers presented to the seminar by leading cities attempting to provide bilingual education. An analysis of their responses to the problems posed by large members of non-English speaking children within their school systems is both practically instructive and theoretically illuminating.

Finally, the papers are perhaps distinctive in offering a view of bilingual education which is international and historical and so facilitates an understanding of the issue in a much broader context than that within which it is conventionally discussed. Thus, though the attention is paid to the problems currently experienced by children and teachers in the city centers of industrialized western societies, the papers also show how significant are the issues relating to bilingual education in the developing third world, most particularly to states struggling to achieve nationhood.

comparative bilingualism

The Concern for Bilingual Education

Obviously, one of the first problems that requires discussion is the phenomenon itself, that is to say, explanations are required for the upsurge of interest and activity in bilingual education over the last 15 or so years. Prior to that time bilingual education was not considered of major interest or importance, the studies undertaken having been largely of a limited psychological kind, attempting to measure the intelligence and linguistic skills of children who happened (almost by chance) to be bilingual. Alternatively, there were studies of bilingualism which were really studies of second language teaching — say English-speakers learning French as a second language. Though this kind of work has provided a useful background to more recent studies, its relevance has been outdated by the rapid upsurge in the more contemporary aspects of bilingual education. It is difficult to speak with certainty about the factors which have produced the modern concern with bilingualism, and it is possible to argue that in different contexts the various factors carry different weights. Nevertheless, certain general issues can be identified. Undoubtedly the interest in bilingual education stems, in part, from the rapid movement of populations which has occurred over the last 20 or 30 years. In various parts of the world different conditions have produced great geographical mobility. In the United States, for example, opportunities for work and the chance of earning higher wages have encouraged large migrations from the Hispanic speaking populations of Mexico, Puerto Rico, Latin America. At the same time, political upheavals and changes in regimes have resulted in large numbers of migrants entering the United States from such diverse sources as Cuba, Haiti and Samoa. Economic factors have produced large migrations into Canada, most particularly from the West Indian islands. In Europe, similar explanations can be offered for migration over the last 20 years. The establishment of the European Economic Community has been responsible not only for an upsurge in economic activity but, equally important, for a gradual relaxation of laws relating to the mobility of labor across national frontiers. The result has been a drift from the low-wage parts of the community, say Southern Italy, to the more prosperous, industrialized regions of Northern Europe. Moreover, the expansion of the

European economies in the 60s and early 70s also attracted large numbers of workers from outside the EEC, from such places as Yugoslavia and Turkey. In Britain the situation has been slightly different. Britain's late entry into the European Economic Community, however, has not meant that it has avoided confrontation with the issues relating from the movement of population. From the early 1950s onwards there has been migration into Britain from former overseas colonial territories. In part, this movement has been for economic reasons — thus, for example, many West Indians have come to Britain, attracted by higher wages and the opportunity to work. In the 1960s, however, other factors become operative as African nationalism resulted in expulsions of the Indian communities from former British colonies in East Africa. These East African Indians were joined also by migrants directly from India and Pakistan who, because of the British imperial tradition had access to the mother country and who came in search of greater economic opportunities. The same phenomenon can be found in Australia, where during the 1950s and 60s the Australian Government, anxious to recruit labor, admitted large numbers of workers from Greece, Yugoslavia and Italy.

The migrations, therefore, have been extensive and are still continuing. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether they can be compared with the great migrations of the late 19th and early 20th centuries which, for example, led to millions of people moving from Europe to the New World. The mere fact of migration cannot, of itself, be regarded as the cause of the interest in bilingual education, because the polyglot United States at the turn of the century did not face problems of bilingual education in the way that most major States are now having to do. At the time of the earlier migration the United States Educational system was not faced with large demands to incorporate bilingual education programs in its schools. Indeed, the learning of English within the school system was an essential part of the 'melting pot' ideology which it was believed would make one nation.

In this earlier period the diverse linguistic and ethnic patterns of the population were maintained in the home and in the neighborhood and, according to Fishman, were effectively maintained as the language loyalties of the United States population into the 1960s seem to have been very powerful. What therefore requires particular explanation is the contemporary upsurge of the demand for a bilingual education through the school system, and the association of those demands with a variety of significant political and cultural features of modern society.

Central to the educational development in Western societies over the last 25 years has been the close association of the ideologies which related educational expansion to the development of liberal democratic political regimes on the one hand, and to the economic expansion of the societies based on skilled and trained manpower, on the other. The release of talent was no longer a personal matter but was seen to relate centrally to the nature of advanced industrial societies, their economies, their occupa-

tional systems and, above all, their futures. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, therefore, there was a massive expansion of educational systems and the implementation of long-standing liberal and progressive policies. Generally the elements are clear — overall growth of the school systems of higher education; a de-emphasis on selective and examining devices which might inhibit the free flow of talent; a development of 'alternative routes' to educational achievement and towards educational experiments and pedagogic styles which legitimize pupil-centered or community-based creative activities so as to diversify the meaning of talent. It was never assumed, of course, that that was all there was to it. Certain groups would need special help in order to share in the future benefits of a science-based society with high rates of economic growth. For such groups, most especially for urban poor or blacks, special provision would have to be made with well-supported interventionist programs. Such educational reforms, which appealed to politicians, were also in keeping with the dominant academic beliefs which emphasized the human capital theory of education. This theory, first enunciated by Adam Smith, and taken up at the end of the 19th century by Alfred Marshall, was strongly emphasized in the election campaigns and early policies of President Kennedy. The theory had many advantages to those who advocated educational growth and expansion, for it emphasized that investment in human capital not only increased individual productivity and hence rewards, but also established the technical base for the type of labor force necessary for rapid economic growth. Quite simply, the theory urged that the worker could be seen as the holder of capital which were embodied in his skills and knowledge and, moreover, that through education he has the capital to invest in himself. In this dramatic way the wage-earner would be likened to an owner of capital. Little wonder, as Karabel and Halsey have recently pointed out, that such a doctrine, reaffirming the American way of life and supplying a quantitative justification for the great public expenditure on education, should be so generously received.

Unfortunately, the heady promises have not been realized. The extensive claims of those who made policies in the 50s and 60s have, in a variety of different ways, turned out to be false. There is increasingly a growing realization that the promise of permanent economic growth and quality of opportunity as the basis for a reconstituted society is unlikely to be achieved. The expansion of systems of schooling and of higher education has not readily brought greater quality, nor have existing elite groups been seriously challenged by those with new educational qualifications. Most particularly, from the point of view of the present discussion, black groups in the United States did not achieve the kinds of goals which the aspirations of the 1960s had encouraged them to hope for. The benefits of the widely publicized educational interventionist programs to improve the performance of the urban poor and the blacks have not been achieved, and even where some educational progress has been made, immense difficulties still remain over careers employment, and salaries. Similarly, the 1970s have,

in most Western societies, been years of declining rates of economic growth and of high rates of unemployment. In turn this unemployment has been particularly severe within black groups.

In a very real sense, therefore, the liberal and democratic aspirations of the 1950s and 1960s have yet to be realized. The most disadvantaged groups, particularly the blacks in America, have been amongst those who have been most bitterly disappointed. The hopes of Americanization and of one nation which were so vociferously voiced in the earlier period have frequently turned out to be empty promises. These conditions of the failure of acceptable liberal solutions have undoubtedly been one of the key factors in the contemporary ethnic revival. Unimpressed by the benefits offered to them, black groups and other under-privileged minorities have begun to look for their own dynamic culture and their own cultural identity. Among the black community this can best be seen in the development of black studies in the schools and colleges, and in the increasing interest in various aspects of Africanization manifested in literature, dress, music, and so on. Moreover, from the 1960s onwards they have attempted to obtain special educational programs which they feel relevant to their needs, and frequently have insisted on black children being taught by black teachers. The black groups, however, have not had to face the language problem, as their leaders have accepted English language teaching (for the present purposes I leave aside the discussions about the value and relevance of non-standard Black English).

The political consciousness of the blacks, therefore, and their political achievements, are central to the current concern with bilingualism because their aspirations have been echoed by other minority groups who are not native English speakers, and for these groups the bilingual issue is crucial. Thus for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in America, or Pakistanis and Indians in Britain, the opportunity to develop and cultivate their own language is seen as vital to the maintenance of their cultural identity. Moreover, the strength of the movement for that cultural identity is enhanced by the upsurge of nationalism in Third World countries of Latin America, Africa and Asia. Thus all of the minority groups in Western societies can readily find some identification with nationalism outside of their own Country. The contemporary mixture of ethnic and national claims is one of the central political characteristics of modern societies. Moreover, though the most highly publicized educational programs can be found in the United States and therefore frequently relate to attempting to solve the racial and ethnic difficulties, elsewhere in the world the problem takes on a different form. It might therefore be worth drawing attention briefly to the emergence of nationalism within well-established nation states. Thus, for example, in the United Kingdom the last decade has seen a massive expansion of Irish, Welsh and Scottish nationalism. In Spain the Basque demands have become more strident, and in France the Bretons have their own vital separatist and nationalist movement. In Canada, the independence of Quebec and the future of its French speaking population is now the key

political issue, while in Belgium the disputes between the Flemish and French speaking groups get more bitter, and in Yugoslavia similar tension is manifest between the different national groups which make up the whole state. This brief and not exhaustive list is mentioned to indicate the worldwide nature of the phenomenon of rising national and ethnic interest. Even more curious revivals can be noted — for example, where groups of French origin in places like Maine, Vermont and New Hampshire are deliberately attempting to rediscover their French past. It is, of course, difficult to speak with certainty as to the causes of these revivals, though one might speculate about the increasing insensitivities of large bureaucratic nation states and their failure to deliver the substance, rather than the rhetoric, of equality to their various minority groups. The causes, however, are of less importance than the manifestation of the demands which now appear as major political demands within the contemporary educational context. Thus in America the demands for bilingual education have been summarized by one British observer (Stern) as a belated attempt to bring social justice to the non-English-speaking minorities. Quite simply, the rights of the minorities to be themselves in school.

Elsewhere in the world the issue of bilingualism manifests itself in a different form, and is caused by different forces. Many of the newer states in Asia and Africa face critical problems of nation-hood and national building in circumstances which might include a multitude of different languages, with the additional difficulties arising from the fact that significant, and perhaps elite groups will speak the language of the recently departed colonial power — usually English or French. Moreover, the language differences in these newer states are frequently linked to vital political issues associated with tribal or regional rivalry; and always to important matters concerning the sense of nationhood and unity to be developed through the educational system. In turn, the significance of the educational issue is emphasized by the importance of the language decision in relation to such things as employment in government or quasi-governmental agencies, and in its way this is again an important factor in regional or tribal relationships as the state bureaucracy develops. Indeed, it will be helpful to explore the methods used by some states to deal with these difficulties as they highlight problems associated with bilingual education which are somewhat different from those which normally arise in western societies. In additon, consideration of these issues enables another topic to be clarified, and that is the conceptual uncertainty surrounding the use of the term 'bilingualism'.

A Conceptual Note

Discussions of bilingualism frequently fail to distinguish between two different ways in which the term is used. It can refer to the use by an individual of more than one language, as when a child might speak both Spanish and English. On the other hand the term bilingualism refers to the

use of more than one language by a group or nation. Thus, bilingualism subsumes within it both the micro — and macro — aspects of multi — lingualism, but these should be treated as conceptually distinct. Kloss has, however, proposed a neat solution — he has argued that at the micro — level the individual phenomena may be described by the use of the appropriate Latin root terms e.g. bilingual / multi — lingual individuals, bilingualism / multilingualism etc. Whereas at the macro level the group phenomena may be described by use of Greek root terminology e.g. monoglossic, diglossic, polyglossic groups, nations, states etc. An additional merit of Kloss's distinction is that it provides a framework by which solutions can be considered at the micro or the macro level.

Some Attempts at National Solutions

Bell has given an interesting analysis of the attempts made by different third world and developing states to arrive at decisions about the use of language at a national and regional level. It is worth giving some consideration to these national problems as too frequently the educational discussions of bilingualism are parochial and fail to see the issues of bilingualism or polyglossic nations in their widest contexts.

In reality three distinctive policies have been identified by Bell. He argues that where there is no available clear traditional language which can be drawn upon to unite the nation, the adoption of language is likely to follow the ex-colonial rules, with the emphasis on operational efficiency, nationism as opposed to ethnic-authenticity nationalism. Educational policy in these terms will be directed towards the importance of the national language at the expense of the indigenous languages. Competence in the dominant language will be an essential for well-paid employment and career mobility. The second group of policies will develop when there appears to be a definite tradition associated with a specific local language. The language might well be linked to sociocultural and political unity, and its adoption will symbolize the aim of achieving both goals of nationism and nationalism, the idea being to unite the country culturally and to develop an efficient language. Clear examples of this are in Israel, Somalia, Ethiopia. Whereas in Indonesia, the Phillipines and Tanzania there is a move towards this type of policy from the first type already described. That is, there is a move to abandon the old colonial languages of Dutch, Spanish and English in favor of the indigenous national languages of Bahasa, Indonesia, Tagalog and Swahili respectively. The third type of policy identified by Bell arises when it is recognized that there are several competing traditional languages, each with their own social, relgious and geographical base. This can be very difficult, as the history of Pakistan shows. Here it is especially problematic to hold together the twin goals of nationalism and nationism. The various sub-groups, because of their power, must be permitted some autonomy, yet this very autonomy strikes at a sense of national unity. The language policies frequently have a temporary ring

about them, and often involve the maintenance of the colonial language alongside a variety of indigenous other national languages and the further adoption of major regional languages.

Thus, this brief consideration of possible policies at the macro — level shows the problems facing poly — glossic or diglossic states which contain large numbers of bilingual individuals. The critical factor relating to the solution of these problems of linguistic heterogenity is the ratio of dominant language users to the various minority language users. Where the main language users are in a great majority, the simple choice would seem to be a language policy making use of the majority language. The problem here, however, is that there is a great deal of evidence that the minority groups then feel themselves to be at a very great disadvantage. This is particularly the case when language policies have to be determined after a period of imperial rule in which all groups have struggled for freedom. Minority groups may well come to feel that they have exchanged imperial masters for a newer kind of master closer to home. This certainly seems to have been a factor in the recent bitter disturbances in both Biafra and Bangladesh. One way out of the problem might be to choose a minority language as the national language — that is to say, to emphasize national identity at the expense of efficiency. For example, in Eire, Irish Gaelic is officially the national language, even though the mother tongue community is no more than three per cent of the population. Indonesia has made a similar choice, and so did Israel, choosing a language based on Classical Hebrew with absolutely no large speech community at the expense of Yiddish which in 1961 could claim a seventy-five per cent community of main or minority users. Such decisions are never easy. Most particularly, in a period of post-colonialism, where, as in parts of Africa, English or French are in common use, particularly among the elite groups. What sometimes happens, therefore, in the ex-colonies of Britain and France, is the choice of a co-glossic solution to the language problems. The ex-colonial language, English or French, is retained as the sole national language, but regional official status might be given to a variety of different languages within the nation.

Though the language problems of the emerging nations have not received the attention that has been lavished on the bilingual education issues arising from the changes in contemporary Moslem societies they nevertheless place those more familiar issues in an interesting light. Firstly, in the underdeveloped societies the political element in the language debate is more starkly revealed, and secondly, it is made so by the importance of language for a sense of national, regional, ethnic or cultural identity as well as for economic opportunity. Thus, when turning to the more conventional (though no less problematic) debate about bilingualism in the major western societies the salutary warning is that beneath the argument about bilingual education are central issues relating the principles regulating life and opportunity in those societies. With these factors in mind it is possible to examine some recent policies adopted in the

western societies. In so doing special attention will be paid to material made available to the *International Seminar in Urban Education* held in October 1976 under the auspices of IMTEC / OECD and the United States Office of Education. In turn, this material will be integrated with other studies made available over recent years which show the ways in which bilingual education is being tackled, and hopefully, will indicate the range of problems which have been uncovered as bilingual education has developed.

The Practicalities of Bilingual Education

One of the major difficulties faced by those working in the field of bilingual education is the estimation of the size of the problem. As already indicated, it is only recently that bilingualism and the fact that many children come to school in, shall we say, Britain and the United States, without any English, has appeared of concern. In 1966, for example, two important books appeared. Joshua Fishman's *Language Loyalty in the United States,* which showed attempts made by the various ethnic and religious groups to maintain their mother tongues, and in so doing drew attention to the persistence of American multi-lingualism. In that year also, Harold B. Allen's *Survey of the Teaching of English to Non-English Speakers in the United States* emerged. Allen's report gave details of the spasmodic efforts being made to assist children who come to school not speaking English, but he pointed out that the data on the number of children who needed such help was hard to come by. In the decade that has followed Fishman's and Allen's work, the difficulties involved in assessing the size of the problem have not diminished. Certain aspects of this difficulty need elaboration. A sizeable proportion of those who do not speak English in schools in Britain and America are likely to be illegal immigrants or the children of illegal immigrants, and consequently may not figure in official returns. Where any illegality is involved the children or the parents are likely to resist Government-sponosred inquiries and even the less official approaches of social investigators. Secondly, the groups that fall into the non-English-speaking categories are, to a large degree, unskilled and consequently easily made unemployed and subject to all the difficulties of casual labor. The children, therefore, frequently move neighborhood and school. In large cities such as New York or Detroit this can be a major administrative problem, as virtually the whole school population may shift in a year. As suggested, therefore, estimates of the numbers involved are not always easy to agree. Working on 1960 figures Fishman estimated a total of over eighteen million native speakers of languages other than English in the United States of America. Another estimate by Gage put the figure at over twenty million. The 1960 American Census certainly reported a figure of nine and three-quarter million foreign-born people. More recent estimates, as suggested by Gaarder, indicate that there are at least 3 million children of school age in the United States who could benefit

from bilingual education. It is important to recognize that though the larger figures of Gage and Fishman refer to total populations, that is to say they will include native-speakers of German and Italian, the really seious problems in the United States involve firstly the Spanish-speaking children (Mexican Americans in the South-West, Puerto Ricans in Eastern and mid-Western cities, Cubans and South Americans, and the American Indians). Though the demographic information on these groups is not altogether reliable, there is no doubt that the Mexican Americans are the fastest-growing minority, with perhaps four million or more admitted to the United States over the last twenty years. The Indian population is probably around 700,000, and, like the Puerto Ricans who are urbanized in the Eastern cities, they remain among the poorest groups in the United States.

In the United Kingdom the situation is similar, with a very high proportion of children (in some schools reaching seventy-five or eighty per cent) coming from the new Commonwealth. These groups also contain those most at risk from unemployment, living in poor housing conditions, with low incomes. The 1971 census in Great Britain indicated that there were over three million of the population of 54 million who were born overseas. Of these, over 800,000 came from the new Commonwealth countries and over 600,000 originated in Europe. As with the United States, however, it is difficult to get accurate figures which relate to the numbers of children in schools, because of the sensitive nature of the questions relating to ethnic and geographical origins.

What is clear, however, is that the non-English-speaking groups in both Britain and America are generally poor. Indeed, in the United States the original Bilingual Education Act passed in 1968 actually had a poverty criterion for participation in funding. The fact of this poverty has only served to identify the struggle for bilingual education with the more general issues of educational opportunity. Increasingly, the dominated groups are demanding education in their own language as a means of tackling the inequalities which they face. Thus, in the United States three important legal cases have recently shown the potency of these arguments. In Lau v. Nichols (1974) the American Supreme Court decided in favor of a group of Chinese who had sued the San Francisco School District. The Chinese American students claimed that as they were not being instructed in their native language, they were denied a meaningful opportunity to participate in the public educational program and that this violated the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In Serna v. Portalis (1973) it was established that there had been a denial of equal educational opportunity and the remedy had to be bilingual education. And again in ASPIRA v. the Board of Education (1973) the Court arranged a consent decree requiring New York City to provide extensive instruction through Spanish in the regular school subjects. In the United Kingdom, though there are no similar legal decisions or parallel administrative actions, the leaders of immigrant groups are now beginning to demand instruction in normal subjects in their own tongue. this is to be seen as something different from the decisions

of individual schools to provide the teaching of English as a foreign language to immigrant groups as a transitional measure.

In Britain and America, however, the recent attempts to grapple with the problems of multi-culturalism, bilingualism and poverty have met with certain problems. Firstly, it is difficult to establish clear-cut objectives. Thus advocates for bilingual policy seem lacking in confidence with regard to the extent of their claims. They are never certain whether to advocate a thorough going bilingualism so that one might theoretically imagine that it is possible to become a lawyer or a doctor in, shall we say, Britain by speaking Urdu, or in America by speaking Spanish, or whether the bilingualism is really a transitional period by which young people are just given better opportunity to learn the dominant language by being introduced to schooling in their own mother tongue. The extreme logic of the first illustration highlights the real nature of the problem, because no one seriously supposes such a massive re-organization of the educational system and of its resources could be undertaken in order to train American doctors in Chinese or British lawyers in Swahili. This being the case, the cultural issue is immediately apparent. That is to say, if the bilingual education is to be effective, it will result in the minority groups becoming efficient in the language of the dominant group. To emphasize the point, insofar as the minority groups of the Chicanos, Pakistanis, Puerto Ricans, are to be able to use the educational system for career advancement and social mobility and to increase their power in the labor market, they must inevitably come to speak English. To that degree, therefore, their cultural identity is at risk, and indeed, this problem is also apparent in dealing with indigenous working-class groups. The whole question of the cultural identity of groups and the self-concepts of individuals is an important issue which needs to be analyzed later.

Another major problem arises from the shortage of resources, facilities and staff. It has been estimated by Gaarder that if the implications of the recent American legal decisions were fully taken up, and genuine bilingual education was made available to the minority groups, then something like 50,000 teachers would be required immediately. These teachers do not exist. Indeed, Gaarder shows how inadequate the bilingual training is of even those teachers in the Southern states of America who claim to have special interest in the teaching of Mexicans and who are deliberately pursuing courses with a multi-cultural bias. The same is true of the teachers in New York and of the teachers in England. Indeed, with the decline in school rolls in both Britain and America and the consequent decline in the demand for teachers, this situation is likely to be exaggerated as the teaching force is likely to be relatively fixed in the next few years, with new entrants forming only a small proportion of the total stock. What is true of the teachers is also true of books, aids, and so on. The present emphasis on bilingualism and multi-culturalism has produced an upsurge of activity by research organizations and commercial enterprises to produce textbooks, resources, visual aids, and so on, suitable for such

teaching; but even where these activities are successfully conducted and tested there is a major problem with their diffusion and their cost.

Finally, the association of bilingualism with poverty has turned out to be a major problem. Clearly those children whose mother tongue is not English and who are confronted with an essentially English-based curriculum, are likely to have difficulties in school and to appear retarded. It does not follow, however, that the identification of the problem in these terms lends itself to ready solution. That is to say, as Fishman has recently argued, the ideological claim for bilingualism and multi-cultural education should not blind us to the other realities relating to education achievement in our societies. It will not be the case that successful bilingual education will transform the group experiences of the poor minority groups in Britain, America, or elsewhere. Much more will be required, as the underprivileged groups within the majority have found, before educational achievement is readily made available, and even more, before educational achievement is translated into higher economic reward and status.

Thus, special attention can now be given to the attempts made in Toronto, New York, San Diego and Salt Lake City to provide programs which incorporate bilingual education and which were the objective of specific study at the International Seminar.

Beginning with the events in Toronto, it is possible to see in that city the microcosm of many of the issues which have already been raised. Indeed, it is possible to argue that many people outside of Toronto would not recognize the extent of the multi-cultural issue and the problems of bilingual education within that Authority. In 1975 the Board of Education for the City of Toronto undertook an *Every Student* survey which showed the extent of the problems facing the Board. Thirty per cent of the students in Toronto Board of Education schools were born outside Canada, and almost fifty per cent did not have English as their first language. By 1975 children born in Portugal had taken over from children born in Italy as the largest group of foreign-born students. The second largest group was West Indian, whose numbers had more than trebled since 1970. Students born in Italy ranked third, with those from China (including Hong Kong and Taiwan) fourth, Greece fifth and Britain sixth. The survey found that almost 28,000 students were born outside of Canada, five per cent more than in 1970. The students were also ranked according to their mother tongue, and the survey showed that there were, in 1975, more than 42,000 students in Toronto whose home language was not English, and there are several thousand additional students who speak dialects of English but who were born outside of Canada or whose parents were immigrants. Children whose mother tongue is Italian still form the largest language group other than English, but, as indicated above, their numbers have dropped. Portuguese is the second largest language group, with Greek third and Chinese fourth. Clearly, a survey of this kind could not classify West Indian students according to home language, since that language is generally English, so it does not

reveal how many Canadian-born children there are of West Indian family background in addition to the 5,000 students born in the West Indies.

What is remarkable about the survey is the association of evidence linking language skills with socio-economic background and place of residence. In the light of a great deal of sociological work it is interesting to note that the researchers found that the socio-economic background of students was generally a far better predictor of school success than either country of birth or mother tongue. More than 42 per cent of Toronto students were found to be in the lowest socio-economic group based on the occupation of the head of their household. However, much higher percentages of immigrants than of non-immigrants were in this lower group. For Italians and Portuguese, for example, the figure is more than 70 per cent. For children born in Canada and whose first language is English the percentage is only 26.5 per cent. Students of parents in the lowest occupational group had a 20 per cent chance of ending up in a level 1, 2 or 3 program, whereas for children of parents in the highest occupational group the chance of such placement was only 3 in 100. The survey also shows marked differences in the make-up of the Toronto school system's six areas. The vast majority of students in areas 5 and 6 have English as their mother tongue, in sharp contrast to areas 2, 3 and 4. Area 3, for example, has almost as many students with Portuguese as their mother tongue as students whose home language is English. Another interesting point to note was that where special education was required, this, too was most likely to be provided for the Canadian-born, English mother tongue groups. 10 per cent of such students are in special classes, whereas the proportion of others is only about 6 per cent.

It is against this background that the development of the demand for multi-cultural education in Toronto must be seen. Throughout the 1970s there have been persistent attempts to define the meaning of 'multi-culturalism' and to associate it with worthwhile bilingual programs. In so doing, there has been an explicit rejection of the old 'melting pot' ideologies which argued that immigrants would quickly lose their old language and habits and emerge as Americans or Canadians. Moreover, it is a rejection of the more direct aspirations of New Canadianism in which the main concerns have been to rapidly teach English to immigrants and help them embrace the new culture. Increasingly, multi-culturalism is associated with the ideologies not of acceptance or tolerance, but of respect and understanding. It is, moreover, construed in a dynamic sense, recognizing the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture will itself be modified by the insights of other cultures.

Of course, threads of multi-culturalism can, with hindsight, be traced back almost to the origins of the city system of education in Toronto. Acknowledgement for example, of Jewish holidays began in the 1890s. In 1902 some special texts and courses for non-English-speaking pupils were borrowed from Pennsylvania. Throughout the 1940s and 50s sensitive

teachers struggled to ease the transitional period of immigrant groups. None of these things, however, represented multi-culturalism, which has come to the fore partly as a result of the new wave of immigration and possibly because of the active community politics of the late 60s and early 70s which gave community groups more opportunity to stake their claims and more political leverage. This movement itself was associated with more open liberal forms of educational administration, which further served to enhance the possibilities for specific bilingual programs. In 1973, therefore, the first steps in a transitional program in Toronto began. This occurred at the General Mercer Public School, and involved children entering Junior Kindergarten. Newly-entering children were part of an experimental Italian transition program designed to run for two years of Junior and Senior Kindergarten. At first the teacher spoke mainly Italian to the children, with English being introduced very gradually, with the hope that, by the third year of school (i.e. Grade 1), the pupils would be ready to enter a regular program where they could begin to read and write in English. In fact his program was itself a modified version of a more radical proposal from an Italian teacher in Toronto. He wished for all initial teaching to be in Italian, but the basic Education Act in Toronto will not allow any language other than English or French to be used for purposes of instruction. Even the modified program was difficult to get off the ground and involved the local communities providing volunteers and the preservation of the teaching posts of existing staff. In turn, this led to the two-year pilot project at the General Mercer Public School, with Italian as the language of instruction. Research suggests that the teacher's use of language, Italian or English, depended very much on the individual she was speaking with, and that both languages would appear in the classroom and, indeed, in the same sentence. Critics of the program, however, argued that it was merely tokenism and not a substantial reform. The research report, however, indicated measures of success. It suggested that the children had not suffered, either academically or in English-language comprehension. Moreover, it argued that the self-images of the children were not inferior. The research report particularly emphasized that the critical initial stage of seeking the children's cultural identity was not challenged, and they were able to maintain a close bridge with 'home'. However, the report also acknowledged that a slight program such as was undertaken was no guarantee of any major conclusion and had little to say about later school success.

In 1974 an interesting Chinese-Canadian bicultural program was started. Such a program was developed largely in response to the complaints of Chinese parents of the growing gulf between them and their children, as apparently their children were rapidly being assimilated into the New Canadian culture. Again, no instruction could be offered directly in Chinese and, moreover, there were the usual problems of not displacing teachers or committing the Board to extra costs. Once again the parents and local community were to be heavily involved. In fact it was effectively

run by the Chinese Parents' Association of the two schools concerned, and its direct costs were paid by that Association from funds obtained from Government grants and other donations. About 300 children commenced the program, that is about two-thirds of those eligible from the two schools. The program has two co-ordinators, one community worker and three teachers. It involves the students being withdrawn from regular classes for half-an-hour a day. The evaluation was undertaken by parents, teachers and students, and seemingly provides evidence of success. Thus the program did make the students more aware of Chinese culture, but among the older students there was dissatisfaction with the level of teaching. And, indeed, other critics noted that the program gave an unrealistic view of Chinese life — rather like a travel film.

As already suggested, one of the most rapid transformations in the Canadian experience over the last few years has been the large increase in the number of black people resident in the cities. Today there are an estimated 120,000 black people in metropolitan Toronto. Mainly they have come in the last ten years from the West Indies, Guyana and Trinidad, though there are also some black Americans. It is, however, the students from the Carribean who represent the most serious problem as, though they officially speak English, their dialect and their rhythms of speech are frequently difficult for other Canadians to understand. Moreover, there is a great cultural gulf between the family life of the West Indians and the work programs of the schools, leading to many difficulties. From the Autumn of 1973 onwards, therefore, there have been deliberate attempts to remedy some of the difficulties. Black organizations have been involved in discussions of the curricula and the cultural and linguistic problems of West Indian students. Working parties on multi-culturalism have been established. Even while this was being undertaken the Board has increased its staff of teachers and consultants in English as a Second Language and has employed a consultant on the West Indies. Many problems, however, still remain.

Despite these developments, those in charge of the Toronto system of education were aware that their efforts might be regarded as too piecemeal and merely an illustration of tokenism. In the Spring of 1974, therefore, a Work Group of Multi-Cultural Programs was established. Its terms of reference were to investigate and explore the philosophy and programs related to the city's multi-cultural population, and to do this in consultation with staff, students and parents, to examine the current practices that related to the operation of the Board's multi-cultural programs and to make recommendation to the Board concerning long range policy in this area. The Working Party was greatly influenced by a paper entitled *The Bias of Culture*. The straightforward thesis of this paper was that the Toronto school system had developed in the image of the middle class, white, Anglo-Saxon, protestant culture, and that this was reflected in its teaching, its organization, its curriculum and administrative procedures. The problem, therefore, became to weaken the grip of that culture and to

replace it with an educational program more in keeping with the contemporary pluralistic nature of the city. *The Bias of Culture* identified ten issues that related to this situation:

1) The issue of cultural identity, the ways in which the school competed for a child's cultural allegiance with the family, the implications of language differences between the home and the school and the consequent implications upon the self-concept of the child.
2) Streaming within Toronto schools.
3) The arrangements for reception and placements of the New Canadian students.
4) The related question of ascription which children were faced with in school programs and by which careers were determined.
5) Teachers' and Principals' perception of the New Canadian students.
6) The ethnic groups' perceptions of the schools and the school system.
7) The school's contact with the ethnic communities.
8) The nature of the support services available to the school.
9) The nature of ethnic teachers in the school system, their power and opportunities for promotion.
10) The nature and range of multi-cultural programs within the school.

From the beginning the Working Party attempted to establish links with local communities and prepared a variety of different documents deemed relevant to those administering the Toronto system. They invited submissions and received many hundreds. Their initial work convinced them that there was general consensus of the two broad issues, (1) that the New Canadian child should learn English as soon as possible and be integrated into the main stream of the school system as soon as possible, (2) that the learning of English should not involve the sacrifice of the child's cultural identity. In May 1975 a draft report was published, indicating the core issues — English as a Second Language, unequal educational opportunity, maintenance of original cultures and languages, multi-culturalism, and the curriculum, community/school relations. Soon after the report, measures were taken to establish a School/Community Relations Department and to co-ordinate school/community relations on a city-wide basis, and a boost was given to the teaching of English as a Second Language. These two steps, of course, were the least contentious of the many recommendations, some of which have still to be made operative.

It is in the New York City public schools, however, that perhaps the greatest challenge to multi-cultural education can be found. Perhaps nowhere in the world has more symbolized the old 'melting pot' theories than the City of New York, which has been the focus of so much immigration to the United States. Yet the heyday of this ideology related to ethnic groups that came mainly from Europe — Jews, Italians, Greeks, Germans, Poles. As white Europeans the issues of multi-culturalism were not tainted with

racial problems in the way that they have now become. Since 1945, and particularly during the 1950s and 1960s, New York has increasingly attracted large numbers of American blacks from the Southern States and large numbers of people of Hispanic origins, mainly from Puerto Rico. These population movements have also been accompanied by the phenomenon of 'white flight', by which as more and more of the city center, with its old properties, has become part of the black or Puerto Rican neighborhood, so middle-class groups, mainly white, have moved away from the city into the more generously spaced suburbs. These suburbs are frequently outside of the jurisdiction of the City of New York and in the State of New York. Thus, over the last 15 or 20 years, the city schools of New York have been transformed, so that now something like over 70 per cent of the children in the New York schools come from minority groups, mainly Blacks and Puerto Ricans. The paradox is, of course, that they are still referred to as the minority groups, even though it is the white students who are in a minority on a City-wide basis. The critical change in the balance of the groups occurred in the mid-1960s. As already suggested in earlier sections of the paper, the Black and Hispanic groups are those who are most likely to be unemployed, to live in poor housing conditions with low family incomes. It is against this background that the policy of the Board of Education in New York must be viewed.

No New York City Public school has a racially discriminatory admissions policy. All schools in New York must provide equal access, and as a result there is no dual system of education in New York. Indeed, the situation is even more forceful than this, in that no white child in New York City can complete twelve years of public schooling without having attended an integrated school. Moreover, in its time, the Board of Education has taken positive action to remove what have been known as 'white sanctuaries', and the Board is committed towards establishing a more equitable balance in those few schools where white groups still have the majority of pupils. Over recent years the Board of Education has pursued a variety of policies to promote integration. In doing so, however, the Board has been forced to acknowledge the important structural features which act as constraints upon its complete freedom of action. Thus, for example, high rates of unemployment, rapid movements of populations, particularly among minority groups, the possibility of the white middle-class groups buying private education, and the association of racial isolation and poverty, all combine to weaken the effectiveness of administrative and legal measures designed to promote racial integration in schools. Nevertheless, successful policies have been pursued. Firstly, over a period of twenty years, there has been judicious selection of school sites. Thus, 42 schools have recently been erected in predominantly middle-class areas of the city, but with a view to providing places for children living in the disadvantaged sections of neighboring communities. Such a policy might result in a high degree of integration. For twenty years virtually every High School has been built either in middle-class or fringe areas so that students

can be zoned across the racial and economic lines. Good examples of this are the South Shore High School in Brooklyn and the George W. Wyngate High School. Careful siting has also been accompanied by zoning, and the arrangements for zoning are periodically revised. Essentially, zoning is designed to embrace a diversified student population. Frequently it results in students having to avoid the High School closest to them to attend a High School in another zone. Midwood High School, for example, which in 1963 had an almost 100 per cent white intake, now has minority groups represented to the extent of almost 40 per cent. The same is true of the Junior High Schools, where, with occasional exceptions, every one has at least 10 per cent minority group students, though it must be noted that some of these changes have come about through the population movements described at least as much as from the deliberate zoning and siting policies of the Board.

The third plan adopted since 1966 is the system of free choice transfer. This applies to all apart from Kindergarten level, and enables children who live in deeply segregated residential areas to attend Elementary Schools in predominantly middle-class areas, providing that space is available for them.

These have been the major measures by which integration and multiculturalism have been pursued in New York over the last 15 or so years. There have been a variety of other devices that have been attempted to introduce greater integration and, above all, to weaken the influence of segregated housing. Thus, for example, the specialized academic and vocational schools accept students from all over the city, and this has been done despite the significance of qualifying examinations which might determine admission. Occasional unzoned or optional 'magnet' schools have been set up, like the John Dewey High School in Brooklyn, where innovative programs and independent studies are encouraged and recruitment is Borough-wide. All of these devices have frequently involved specialized travel and transportation procedures, and it is worth noting that something over half-a-million New York school pupils (about 50 per cent) travel daily by contract bus and public transportation, many of these moving out of minority isolation neighborhoods to attend integrated schools. Contact buses alone log over 900,000 miles each year for integration purposes.

Since the mid-1960s New York schools have paid great attention to the ways in which the curriculum can promote racial integration. This has involved revising the curriculum and introducing subjects into it which are more appropriate to minority groups. Attempts have been made to relate the curriculum more to the requirements of the individual child, and a wider range of recruitment policies have been pursued in order to encourage teachers from the minority groups to work in the City schools. Thus, for example, there has been an increase in the study of the Negro in American history, and the development of Afro-American studies in

schools, and though the emphasis has been on Black history and culture, other ethnic minority groups have also had their ways of life represented. By 1970 something like three-quarters of the Elementary and Secondary schools surveyed by the Board had programs which dealt, in some respect, with ethnic studies. Black studies was most dominant, followed by Puerto Rican studies. One interesting consequence was that the development of this kind of minority education stimulated a demand from white ethnic groups to pay more attention to their own ethnic heritages, and consequently there is now a demand for such things as more Italian/American history in New York schools. Much of this work has been undertaken by teacher groups who have produced bulletins and pamphlets for circulation. It is difficult, of course, to chart its effectiveness, but the very concern for the problem and sense of activity is likely to be beneficial to the pupils concerned. Thus, among the specialized social studies bulletins now available are — Black Studies, Afro-American Studies, Asian Studies, Italian Studies, Irish Studies, Chinese Studies, Jewish Studies, Latin American Studies. This kind of curriculum reform has been accompanied by City-wide meetings for supervisors; curriculum co-ordinators have been appointed to acquaint teachers with new materials, and large in-service programs and conferences have also been undertaken.

The attempt to generate a more varied cultural approach to education in the New York schools has automatically been accompanied by significant attention being paid to bilingual education. In New York, bilingual education has been understood, predictably enough, as the use of two languages, one of which is English and the other the native language of the child, as mediums of instruction for the same pupil population, in a well-organized program which encompasses part of the curriculum and includes the study of the history and culture associated with the mother tongue. A complete program, therefore, attempts to develop and maintain the children's self-esteem and legitimate pride in both cultures.

Following the Bilingual Education Act of 1968, funds were available for planning staff development, materials, equipment, and the like, under Title VII ESEA. The public schools of New York were among the first to establish programs under Title VII, and, indeed, the original bilingual school was opened in 1968. The children were largely Hispanic, and great emphasis was placed upon parent participation. Teaching was in Spanish and English, and the evidence suggests there was a great deal of satisfaction with the school, discipline problems and truancy almost disappearing.

In 1969 a second such school was opened. In 1972 the Board established the Office of Bilingual Education specially to co-ordinate bilingual instruction in the City's schools. This office is specifically responsible for the development and implementation of bilingual and English as a second language programs. Moreover, it helps to prepare teachers and teacher ancillaries in the rationale and methodology of bilingual and bicultural

education. In 1974 in the case of ASPIRA versus Board of Education, the Spanish-speaking groups in New York complained that children of limited English-speaking ability still suffered great disadvantage in the New York schools and were hence denied the right to equal educational opportunity, because the Board had failed to provide programs or services to meet their special linguistic needs. Yet even this legal decision, which was in favour of the plaintiffs, has not, of itself, guaranteed effective programs, as the implementation still depends upon the range of resources and teachers that can be made available.

In San Diego there have been dramatic attempts to move towards a policy of bilingualism and bicultural education. The major programs are:
1) Bilingual / bicultural education
2) Racial / ethnic integration / desegregation
3) Multi-ethnic studies
4) Affirmative action
5) Compensatory education

Beginning with bilingual/bicultural education, we can note that a number of factors have contributed to the increased attention to this area. Firstly, there has been a growing political awareness and activity among the largest minority ethnic group in California, the Mexican-American population. In turn their activities have influenced other minority groups like the Chinese, Portuguese, Filipinos, and so on. Secondly, there has been an increased financial provision, both at State level and at Federal level, for the development of bilingual programs, especially at the elementary school level. Finally, in California, the Court decision on Lau versus Nichols has made it a requirement that local districts provide instruction via a child's native tongue if he is limited or non-English speaking. In San Diego the object of bilingual/bicultural education has been the development of persons who are competent in two languages and who can function effectively in two cultures. The bases of the programs therefore emphasize both language and culture. The language program is designed to improve and maintain a child's home language fluency and literary skills as he participates in the educational process. As these home language skills are strengthened then instruction in English is gradually and systematically presented. The cultural program is based on the concept that the educational process should recognize the validity of the background which a child brings to the school environment. It recognizes that as the child proceeds through school, the culture of the home should not be destroyed but should be the source of fruitful contact. Moreover, in California and in San Diego children from the dominant English-speaking culture are included in the bicultural program in the hope that they will develop new cultural perspectives.

The bilingual/bicultural programs have been strenghened by the creation of an Office of Bilingual/Bicultural Curriculum Specialism, the job of this Office has been to monitor and implement programs and to assist

teachers. In San Diego a variety of bilingual/bicultural programs are in operation, serving students who represent the Mexican-American (Spanish), Portuguese, Fillipino (Tagalog) and Vietnamese language backgrounds. Initially, that is from about 1965, these programs were little more than English as a Second Language instruction, and much of the funding was from Federal Government funds. More recently, staff members are attempting a more comprehensive plan to co-ordinate the various programs on offer. The plan will include an attempt to produce an effective identification of *all* students with limited or no English speaking ability, along with a method of assessing their needs. At the same time, appropriate bilingual programs are being designed to meet the needs of these students, and these programs are accompanied by effective evaluation schemes.

Nevertheless, despite their efforts, many leading educators in San Diego would acknowledge that the programs to date have been of a fragmented nature and they readily recognize the difficulties involved in implementing ideas successfully. Thus it is acknowledged that while there have been great efforts at the elementary level, and, indeed, some success has been achieved, the bilingual/bicultural programs tend to lose emphasis when they become a part of Junior and Senior High School curricula. Many of these programs assume that the young child will quickly and easily develop bilingual skills at the elementary stage. However, such an approach ignores those who do not do so, and, more importantly, neglects those who join the school system beyond the elementary stage, most especially as bilingual programs may not be so readily available in the Junior High Schools. The Secondary schools altogether have limited teacher and material resources, and many of the funded bilingual programs are essentially English as a Second Language. San Diego, therefore, acknowledges its deficiencies in genuine secondary bilingual programs. Additional problems arise because the minority ethnic groups tend to drop out of secondary school prior to graduation. The students are unable to cope with the curricular demands. In the same way, the authorities face difficulties over the fact that State and Federal financed bilingual programs *require* the involvement of parents and the community. Yet it is well established that the minority groups do not relate well to the schools. Many minority parents feel that the linguistic and cultural differences between themselves and the dominant English-speaking school environment are barriers to their participation. Again, this is particularly true at the secondary level, and further hampers the secondary programs.

These difficulties are accentuated by the fact that the curriculum does not give full weight to the interests of ethnic minority groups. Thus, many textbooks and resources fail to make reference to contributions made by the various ethnic groups to the local community or to United States and World history. This is especially true of Black and Mexican-American groups. Indeed, reference to these groups in textbooks may be positively discriminatory and biased. Slowly, bilingual/bicultural instructional materials

which emphasize the contributions of various ethnic groups to a culturally pluralistic society are being developed in the district. Moreover, teachers in bilingual classrooms are being encouraged to develop their own instructional materials to cope with this difficulty. At the moment, however, Spanish language materials in California are in reasonable supply, but Portuguese and Tagalog still require adequate development.

Further problems arise from the structure of the teaching staff. Thus, in San Diego only 4.9 per cent of the district teaching staff are identified as Mexican-Americans. Even if the less rigorous category of Spanish surname is taken, then only 10.8 per cent of the teaching force falls into that category. Many district teachers have not had adequate training for the teaching of minority students, and even those with the necessary bilingual language skills may not have the understanding and appreciation of the pupils' cultural differences. Attempts are being made to remedy these deficiencies through the establishment of Workshops and In-service training courses, and Workshop attendance for teachers is frequently paid. Nevertheless, this does not seem to guarantee enrollment, and it is difficult to compel the teachers to attend.

Looking to the future, it seems that in California and in San Diego a greater attempt will be made to unify and standardize the various bicultural programs and to make greater funds available to them. Moreover, it is felt necessary that the developing programs should be based upon sound educational research, and that this research should be linked to the development of meaningful materials.

As already indicated in other City studies, many of the educational problems are not of the schools' making, but can be attributed to the racial/ethnic segregation of the cities. The same is true in San Diego. The massive expansion of population in Southern California in the 1950s and 1960s did not produce a cultural mix but rather tended to reflect the existing cultural divisions. Thus, by 1964 it was already clear that the schools in Southeast San Diego contained a much higher percentage of minority children than were enrolled in the district as a whole. In 1965 the Board of Education set up a committee to investigate the who question of equal educational opportunities. This committee concluded that there was a high degree of ethnic isolation, that this was associated with differentials in educational opportunity, and that substantially inferior opportunities were being offered to minority group students. Since the mid-1960s, therefore, various attempts have been made by the Board of Education to mitigate the consequences of segregated residential patterns. In 1966 an Ethnic Transfer Scheme was introduced. A school can be declared to be ethnically imbalanced if the enrolment of students of any ethnic group varies more than 15 percentage points from that of the district as a whole. Students who are in such discriminated schools may apply for an ethnic transfer, and students can then be transferred to the school of their choice as long as their enrolment will improve the ethnic balance of the receiving

school. Critical to the scheme was the availability of student space at the receiving schools. Many of the possible receiving schools were in areas of white suburban expansion and claimed to be operating at full capacity. The Board, therefore, developed a policy which did not allow refusal on the basis of space availability as long as the school remained ethnically imbalanced. Ethnic transfers were not to be prevented by using this excuse. The problem was to be that of the school and the district, not the pupil. In its intial stages, however, the ethnic transfer scheme relied upon available public transportation. As a result, there was movement towards those City schools which were readily accessible by public transport. This meant that the white children in the more distant and more desirable suburban schools remained ethnically isolated and the elitism of those suburban schools was actually intensified. In 1973, therefore, pilot programs were developed using specially chartered buses. This program has since been expanded. Complex arrangements have been made so that children transferring within the elementary system might reasonably expect to go to one of a cluster of schools when they move into Junior High Schools and High Schools. Complicated timetable arrangements have reduced students' time in transit and prevented wasteful duplication. Nevertheless, despite its technical success, the Board of Education has recognized that complex human relations problems have arisen. To a certain egree the schools have been artificially mixed. The natural residents — parents, pupils and teachers — are apprehensive of the minority groups, fearing a lowering of standards, an increase in violence. In the same way, the transferred students may be ultra-suspicious of their new environment and willfully misinterpret actions and ideas as being due to prejudice. There is an acknowledged risk that artificially desegregating schools may only make them battlegrounds. Thus, the ethnic transfer program has included a human relations component which is designed to help the district and its schools cope with the problems of adjustment. The program has been developed from material provided by the Thiokol Chemical Corporation of Utah, and Consultants from the Corporation have been employed to familiarize district personnel with their use. The program focuses on three areas — an Interaction Laboratory for teacher development, a Leadership Laboratory for student development, and a Parent Action Laboratory for parents. This work is supported by full-time staff of the Office of Urban Affairs, which also attempts counselling roles as transfers increase. As far as the effectiveness of these programs is concerned it is recognized in San Diego that much is still to be achieved. Changing attitudes and developing a real sense of integration is a long-term process.

Summarizing, then, the problems; one might note, firstly, the difficulties in student preparation for transition, destroying myth and rumor, and adequately preparing those who are to be moved and those who are to receive them. The human relations component has assisted here, but by no means fully achieved its objective. Secondly, though the program has produced many transfers, they are virtually all one way — the minority

groups move out to predominately white schools. No white children are currently being transported to an ethnically imbalanced minority school. This only serves to re-emphasize the myths about the nature of education provided in the two kinds of schools. Thirdly, though many of the mechanics of the transport problems have been solved, some children still spend as much as two hours a day travelling, and the deliberately organized arrival and departure times at the schools frequently serves to identify the polarization between the ethnic groups. As the authors of a recent report from San Diego indicate, "The mechanics of integration are being carried out, but often at the expense of improved multi-cultural relations".

As already suggested, the curriculum is a further barrier to genuinely bicultural education. In San Diego there has been a recognized need for more relevant and effective instructional programs for disadvantaged students, as well as in-service training for their teachers. Specialist counsellors have been appointed to visit schools and to help permanent staff members to develop adequate multi-ethnic programs. At the same time, emphasis is increasingly being placed on biculturalism within the teacher training system. Nevertheless, grading problems arise. The curriculum specialist can only work with one or two schools at a time. He faces all the conventional difficulties of an outside expert trying to implement change. At the present time the specialist lacks adequate support personnel and has insufficient funds. Moreover, there is the further difficulty that deliberately designed multi-cultural programs may turn out to be a form of tracking which confines the ethnic minorities to an education which omits the major areas of knowledge and the pursuit of excellence.

Some form of compensatory education has been available in San Diego since 1964, but five years ago a special Compensatory Education Unit was established to supervise the growing number of Federal, State and locally funded compensatory education programs being implemented in the district. At the present time the Unit manages fifteen programs serving almost one-sixth of the district's student enrolment. As already suggested, there are Federal programs, State programs, and local programs, and about 20,000 students in 46 schools are affected. The compensatory programs are of a conventional kind, designed to improve the basic skills of children, particularly at the elementary stage. Thus, of the 46 schools involved, 37 are elementary schools. Basic attention has been paid to reading, language development, and mathematics, and attempts have been made to involve the parents directly with this kind of instruction. Overall, there are distinct signs that the compensatory eduction program is relatively successful. It is well regarded nationally and there is evidence of parental satisfaction. Nevertheless, certain difficulties do remain. There is for example, a great weakness in the area of language development, and an absence of valid measues of students' strengths and weaknesses. Similarly, there are anxieties over the various forms of diagnostic tests and the way they operate. The compensatory programs have raised general

educational issues in a sharp form. What is the relationship, for example, between poor achievement and disciplinary problems? What is the relationship between teacher attitudes and teacher experience and student achievement? Does bilingual and bicultural education inhibit linguistic development? And so on. As suggested already, some parents suspect that compensatory education readily becomes a concealed form of tracking. Does not the financial assistance under Title I of Federal aid for compensatory education seem like a handout? Those who have doubts point to the weaknesses of the Title I program highlighted by the Government Accounting Office. The report of the G.A.O. suggested there had been some uncertainty about the effectiveness of the 14 billion dollars that had been appropriated over the last ten years. They suggested that many of the services did not go to those who were most educationally deprived, that much depended upon the subjective judgment of class teachers, many of whom used Title I programs as dumping grounds for disciplinary problems. Consequently such programs became stigmatized, many parents and teachers considering them degrading and refusing to put children into them even though they may be as much as 2.8 years behind the relevant grade levels in reading skill development.

Finally, in San Diego there has been a policy of affirmative action designed to affect the employment practices of the Board of Education. The main object of this affirmative action has been to establish, by 1981, a total staff which is balanced with regard to racial and ethnic backgrounds and sex in proportion to the district student population distribution. At the present time the district employs a greater proportion of white teachers than exists in the total population, and though females predominate in the teaching force, they are grossly under-represented at the higher administrative and policy levels. Thus, in 1975/76 almost 80 per cent of the district's employees were white, whereas only 68 per cent of the district's students were white. Nevertheless, the ambitious changes hoped for by 1981 might be difficult to realize. There are fewer vacancies as a result of declining school rolls, financial stringency similarly hampers new recruitment, and both of these developments hinder promotional opportunities. Similarly, security of tenure prevents radical transformation of the teacher staff.

The experience of the Board of Education in Salt Lake City is somewhat similar to that in San Diego. For many years in Salt lake City great emphasis was placed upon the ideologies of the 'melting pot'. It is now recognized, however, that in Salt Lake City the ethnic miniorities have not 'melted' and that much social and political life is still dominated by these ethnic groups, Italian-Americans, Indian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Blacks. They vote differently, they raise their children differently, they have different ideas about sex, religion, death, and education. Even the dominant Mormon group (50-60 per cent) has not prevented a diverse cultural and political expression from the numerous ethnic groups. In the period 1973-75 several problems came together. Firstly, there was a rapid

decrease in school enrolement. In the early 1960s there were 42,000 school students, by 1973 there were 28,000. As a result, many physical plants were under-utilized, with wasteful deployment of staff and increased individual costs. The problem was sharpened as schools associated with particular ethnic groups resisted closure. Secondly, the retirement of teachers had not kept pace with the declining school rolls, and consequently there were more staff than was needed. This gave rise to many difficulties as promotions were blocked, unsatisfactory teachers horded, and no new entries. Thirdly, the early 1970s had been characterized by a proliferation of educational innovations within Salt Lake City, yet by the mid-1970s there was a lack of confidence in these displayed both by the patrons and the employees. Many were dropped within a year or two, sometimes because of inadequate funding, sometimes because of uncertainties over their effectiveness. The administrators were convinced that one consequence of this proliferation of innovation was a lower community esteem within the district, lower employee morale, and even a flight of certain families from the district. Overall, therefore, there was a deteriorating set of relationships between employers and employees, and between the Board, the schools and the communities. Frequent demonstrations were held, and in the mid-1970s an attempt at reform was implemented embodying two central features — 1) a program for eductional accountability by which teachers and school principals could list the performance objectives against which they were willing to be measured during the year; 2) an improvement program for unsatisfactory teachers who could be helped by specialist teams to up-grade their performances. If this improvement did not occur their employment could then be terminated and new teachers appointed. At the same time, wide-ranging discussions were introduced with a view to obtaining agreement over school closures. As a result of agreement on school closures it became possible to implement boundary changes which reduced minority group concentration at particular intermediate schols.

From 1973 also a much greater attempt was made to integrate the ethnic groups, most particularly the Chicanos and the Blacks. Positive programs include staff development, bilingual education, minority literature, Black history associated with a Black cultural workshop, a training program for counselors, and affirmative action on hiring practices.

The bilingual program has been very well received by the parents of the children concerned, but as the authors of a recent report acknowledge, "Despite its advantages, bilingual education has its dangers. It can be used as a substitute for excellence. The same dangers are inherent in Black history, Chicano studies and Indian values. It can be looked upon as compensatory education for those who do not succeed in the mainstream of school life. It becomes adjustment education or a secondary way of helping students to become happy students rather than educated ones". The major teaching problems that have emerged have come as a result of teachers having to work alongside each other and with aides in the same classroom.

This has been the only way to implement the bilingual program, as insufficent specialist teachers have been available.

Thus the experience of Salt Lake City only serves to remind us of the general issues relating to bilingualism from which we began. What manifests itself as merely a technical language problem in fact conceals extremely deep seated cultural problems. These problems relate centrally to the dominant political ideologies of the contemporary Western World, equality and opportunity. In reality, therefore, the language issue turns out to be one that involves ethnicity, social class, and poverty. As such, therefore, it is easy to understand why apparently worthwhile and liberal experiments in social engineering prove to be so difficult. Zoning, bussing, special resources, special teacher training, all have their place, but all turn out to be a little disappointing with regard to the central issues. This paper, therefore, has concentrated on the dilemmas and the problems. It remains at a later stage, to look in more detail at some of the experimental work associated with the teaching of second language programs and bilingual children.

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